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FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL UNIVERSITY
BULLETIN
RESEARCH ISSUE

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In This Issue

- Racial Identification and Preferences:
A Duplication Twenty-five Years Later 1

by
Jeffrey M. Jacques
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Florida A&M University

- A Comparison of Selected Students' French Grades
with the Average of Their Other Grades 11

by
Ann C. Hooper
Assistant Professor of French
Florida A&M University

- The Question of Black English 21

by
Bernice A. Reeves
Associate Professor of English
Florida A&M University

- A Counter-Strategy to Global Exploitation
Radical Social Transformation 29

by
Karl F. Hein
Instructor of Philosophy
Florida A&M University

- Utilization of a Pre- and Post-Course Test
To Effect a Separation of Two Student Populations 41

by
Dr. R. W. Long
Professor of Industrial Technology

*Racial Identification and Preferences:
A Duplication Twenty-five Years Later*

by

Jeffrey M. Jacques
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Florida A&M University

Historically, much of the literature on the black community has emphasized negative self-evaluation and/or negative white attitudes toward the black community (e.g. Pettigrew, 1967; Frazier, 1939 and Rainwater, 1966). The self-evaluation is often traced to the early socialization of both white and black children. Garrick reported that since "prejudice may develop well before school age, it is principally acquired from parents," (1969:8). More specifically, the early landmark research of Horowitz (1946), Goodman (1946, 1952) and Ammons (1950) often pointed to negative attitudes by white children towards black children and "rejection of self" by black children.

This particular duplication study is concerned with the interpretation and findings of the 1947 Clark and Clark study. More specifically, the problem of "the genesis and development of racial identification" (Clark and Clark, 1947:170) of four year old black and also white nursery school children will be considered. Comparisons among the 1947 black sample, the current black and the current white sample will be made in the light of current social forces and changing patterns of child development practices.

Purpose

This current research project was initiated with two principal objectives: (1) by age cohort duplication the researcher attempted to determine if there had been significant changes in four year old black children's response to the instrument; and (2) to see if a current black sample would score significantly different from a current white sample in terms of how black and also white four year old children responded to the "doll test."

Jeffrey M. Jacques is currently an assistant professor of Sociology at Florida A&M University and is a doctoral student in the Interdivisional Program in Marriage and Family Living at The Florida State University.

Hypotheses

In terms of specific research hypotheses, the following null hypotheses were tested:

IHo: The current black sample did not score significantly different from the 1947 Clark and Clark sample on the doll test.

IH₁: The current black sample did score significantly different from the 1947 Clark and Clark sample on the doll test.

IIHo: The current white sample did not score significantly different from the current black sample on the doll test.

IIH₁: The current white sample did score significantly different from the current black sample on the doll test.

Methodology

The original Clark and Clark research had a large (N=253) and heterogeneous sample in terms of age, sex and region of the country. In order to note differences between the 1947 sample and the current black sample of children it had been decided that only the four year old subsample (N=29) from the Clark and Clark study would be used.

In terms of the methodology of the current study, four adults who were experienced in working with young children were selected and trained to administer the "doll test" to four year old children in a moderately large southeastern city. The researchers varied by sex and race: one black male; one black female; one white male and one white female.

Four nursery schools in this southeastern city were selected: two predominantly white and two predominantly black. A random sample of children was selected from each nursery school and assigned to each interviewer: each interviewer was assigned three children from each nursery school and, therefore, administered twelve interviews. (There were 24 black and 24 white children in these current samples.)

For those who are not familiar—or do not remember—the original instrument, the following questions were asked after the child was told: "Today we are going to look at four similar dolls. It is going to be a game to see which dolls are the most fun." (The child was then presented with four undressed identical dolls: first a white doll then a black doll, then a white doll then a black doll.

The order of presentation was then reversed for every other child.)*

1. Show me the doll that you like to play with.
2. Show me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Show me the doll that looks bad.
4. Show me the doll that is a nice color.
5. Show me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Show me the doll that looks like a colored child.
7. Show me the doll that looks like a Negro or black child.
8. Show me the doll that looks like you.

Results

Before discussing the findings in terms of comparing the samples of children, the researcher was interested to know if the race and/or sex of the interviewer "made a difference" to the child and therefore influenced the child's responses to the instrument. The results from the first question on the instrument were used as an indicator of the dependent variable. Table One shows that of the four interviewers, only in the case of the white male interviewer were the results dissimilar. Therefore, this researcher was satisfied that, in the case of four year olds, sex and race of the interviewer did not make a statistically significant difference in how the children responded to the "doll test."

As was suggested in the original research by Clark and Clark, the eight question instrument is best divided into two sections for discussion: questions one through four are attitudinally oriented—revealing preferences and questions five through eight are recognition questions—a knowledge of racial differences and self identification. Table Two shows the results of the three samples in terms of how four year old children responded to questions five through eight. In all three samples, the overwhelming majority of children were able to correctly identify the white doll, the colored doll, the Negro doll or black doll and the "doll that looks like you." In comparing the three samples (the Clark and Clark sample with the current black sample, and the current black sample with the current white sample) there is only little difference. More specifically, only in terms of identifying the Negro or black doll did the current black children do significantly different from the Clark and Clark sample (92% vs. 59% respectively). Also, in looking at question eight, the current sample of white children did

*Two changes were made from the original instrument: (1) the word "show" was substituted for "give" in each question noting that it would facilitate the interviewing process and (2) for question seven—racial identification the word "black" was added to the question.

TABLE I. Child's choice of doll by interviewer race and sex in response to question 1.

<i>Child's Choice</i>	<i>Interviewer</i>			
	<i>Black</i>		<i>White</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Black Doll	6	6	2	6
White Doll	6	6	10	6

Each interviewer assigned 12 children.

$$X^2 = 4.12$$

Critical value of X^2 at .05 = 7.82, therefore not significant.

do better than the current sample of black children (83% and 67% respectively) in selecting the doll that looked like themselves, but this difference was not statistically significant.

In terms of the attitudinal questions, similar results were found (Table Three). Although the current black sample was more likely to choose the black doll as the doll "they like to play with" (50% to 24%) and more likely to choose the black doll as having a "nice color" than the Clark and Clark sample did (50% vs. 28%), these differences were not statistically significant. One statistically significant difference was found; the current black sample was much more likely to choose a black doll as being a "nice doll" than the Clark and Clark sample (62% vs. 24%).

Comparing the current black and white samples, the current white sample was more likely to choose the black doll as having a "nice color" (58% vs. 50%) and as "looking bad" (63% vs. 54%)—questions four and three respectively. The current black sample was more likely to choose the black doll as a "nice doll" as well as the one that they "would like to play with" than the current white sample—questions two and one respectively. Not even in terms of which doll the children would like to play with were the differences statistically significant—between the current black and white samples.

Discussion

It is necessary to review some of the original conclusions, and compare the results of this study with the Clark and Clark conclusions.

TABLE II. Identification: Comparison of Clark and Clark results with current Black and White samples of four year old children.

—Choice of Subjects**—												
Sample	Request 5 (for white)			Request 6 (for colored)			Request 7 (for Negro-black)			Request 8 (for you)		
	Black Doll	White Doll		Black Doll	White Doll		Black Doll	White Doll		Black Doll	White Doll	
	No.	%	No. %	No.	%	No. %	No.	%	No. %	No.	%	No. %
Clark and Clark sample	4	14	25 86	24 83	5 17	17 59	10 35	19 66	9 31			
Current black sample	2	8	22 92	20 83	4 17	22 92*	2 8	16 67	8 33			
Current white sample	2	8	22 92	19 79	4 11	21 88	3 12	4 17	20 83			

**Note: Not all Ss answered each question and therefore not all percents add up to 100%.

Critical values of "t" with 49 and 51 df. at .05 = 2.008 and at .01 = 2.678 (two tailed).

*Beyond .05 level of significance between the Clark and Clark and current black sample.

TABLE III. Preferences: Comparison of Clark and Clark results with current Black and White samples of four year old children.

—Choice of Subjects*—																
Sample	Request 1 (play with)			Request 2 (nice doll)			Request 3 (looks bad)			Request 4 (nice color)						
	Black Doll	White Doll	No.	Black Doll	White Doll	No.	Black Doll	White Doll	No.	Black Doll	White Doll	No.				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Clark and Clark sample	7	24	22	76	7	24	22	76	15	52	7	24	8	28	21	72
Current black sample	12	50	12	50	15	62**	9	38	11	54	13	46	12	50	12	50
Current white sample	6	25	18	75	11	46	13	54	15	63	7	27	14	58	10	42

*Note: Not all Ss answered each question and therefore not all percents add up to 100%.

Critical value of "t" with 49 and 51 df. at .05 = 2.008 and at .01 = 2.678 (two tailed).

**Beyond .01 level of significance between Clark and Clark and current black samples.

First in the area of racial identification (questions five through seven) Clark and Clark stated the results "indicate a clearly established knowledge of 'racial difference' in these subjects (1947:17). This researcher must agree with their conclusion. In terms of self-identification—question eight—Clark and Clark emphasize the large (but failed to note only a minority) number of children who chose the white doll even though they were black, and that in comparing self-identification with racial awareness:

awareness of racial differences does not necessarily determine a socially accurate racial self-identification—since approximately nine out of ten of these children are aware of racial differences as indicated by their correct choice of a 'white' and 'colored' doll on request, and only a little more than six out of ten make socially correct identifications with the colored doll (1947:17).

With the current samples one might also come to the same conclusion for the black sample and also the white sample. (It would depend on how one chose to view the data.) In the current samples there was no significant difference between white and black children in terms of not choosing the correct doll—the doll that looks like them. Thus to state racial misidentification on the basis of rejection of dolls (question 8) and to draw conclusions of negative self-evaluation is highly questionable.

In terms of racial preferences—questions one through four, Clark and Clark concluded that "the majority of these Negro children prefer the white doll and reject the colored doll" (1947:175). Similar conclusions might have been drawn for white children but no such pattern seemed to exist for the current sample of black children. In terms of choosing which doll they liked to play with and choosing a doll with a nice color, black children were equally (50%) likely to choose a white doll as a black doll. The significant difference was that a much higher percentage of the current sample of black children chose the black doll when asked to identify a "nice doll" than Clark and Clark's children. There are at least two possible explanations for this change: (1) changing racial attitudes within the black and white community, so that black children view themselves and/or community in a more positive light; or (2) the availability and experience with playing with black dolls might have changed. Hendrickson (1972: speech), a specialist in child development, has noted that it was only quite recently that black and white dolls have become comparable and that the types of previous experiences that young children have with different dolls may have influenced their choice.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In terms of this pilot study, the following conclusion can tentatively be drawn: (1) in the area of children's racial self-identification there was little difference among the Clark and Clark study, the current black sample and the current white sample (all seem to be quite accurate); (2) in the area of racial awareness, both of the current white and black samples are not different from one another, and only in terms of identifying the racial category of Negro or black was the current sample of black children more accurate than the Clark and Clark sample; and (3) in the area of racial preference it was concluded that both current samples were, in general, similar to each other and that the current black sample was less negative than the Clark and Clark sample.

It seems to this researcher that many of the landmarks of racial research with young children need to be replicated in the light of current social forces and changing patterns of child development practices.

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*A Comparison of Selected Students' French Grade
with the Average of Their Other Grades*

by

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I. Introduction

At Florida A&M University, students who fail to earn a 2.00 grade average for any quarter are placed on academic probation and permitted to carry a limited load of twelve quarter hours the following quarter. Those who fail to earn a "C" average during the third consecutive quarter while on probation are subject to suspension at the close of that quarter. All students who return to the university after having been dropped for poor scholarship are dropped permanently when they fail to earn a "C" average for two consecutive quarters. On several occasions a student who has had to drop out for one of the above reasons has blamed the low grade or simply the grade that he received in French for his academic failure. During the second quarter of this year, a student brought out the fact that he received "A's" in his four other courses and a "D" in French. During the third quarter this same student received "F" in French and "B's" in his other four courses. Two other students received "F" in French and passing grades in their other courses during the second quarter. Because these students were understandably disturbed by this, this modest "in-house" study was undertaken to determine the effect of the French grade on a student's GPA and to compare his French grade with the average of his other grades.

II. Previous Research

Paul Pimsleur et al. in their study "Underachievement in Foreign Language Learning,"¹ estimate that up to 20% of the student population in high schools and colleges are beset by a frustrating lack of ability in Foreign Language study. They refer to these students as "underachievers" in view of the fact that their grades in Foreign language courses are at least one point lower than the average grade in their other major subjects.

¹ Paul Pimsleur, D.M. Sundland, and Ruth D. McIntyre, "Underachievement in Foreign Language Learning," *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, No. 2 (1964), 113-150.

Boza Becica, in a study entitled "A Comparison of Selected Characteristics of Students with Higher Grades in Their Foreign Language Courses than in Their Nonlanguage Courses," states that "by categorizing first year foreign language students at the end of their first semester of foreign language study at a university according to the degree of difference between an individual's foreign language grade and the average of his non-language grades on a 100 point scale resulted in finding 45 degrees of difference with a range of 0.00 to 2.80 academic grade points in a sample of 69 subjects, a finding contrary to the generally held belief that students who are best in one course are generally better than average in their other courses."²

According to Leon A. Jakobovits, "two available surveys of college students' interest in Foreign Language study indicate that almost one-half feel that Foreign Language study has been detrimental to them."³

It was hoped that this study would reveal some findings indicating that the study of French at Florida A&M University is not detrimental as far as grades are concerned.

III. Specific Hypothesis to be Tested

For fifty-six students enrolled in French 103 during the spring quarter of 1972 at Florida A&M University, there is no significant difference between their French grade and the average of their other grades.

IV. Procedures

Based on class rolls for two sections of third quarter Elementary French, taught by the same teacher, student grade slips were pulled. The French grade and the GPA for the quarter were recorded, and the GPA without French was determined. For these students, the major, total number of hours attempted and the total number of hours earned were noted. After this information was obtained, the grades of two sections of third quarter Elementary French taught by two different instructors at another

²Boza Becica, "A Comparison of Selected Characteristics of Students with Higher Grades in Their Nonlanguage Courses," *Dissertation Abstracts*, No. 29 (1968), 4135A (University of Texas).

³Leon A. Jakobovits, "Research Findings and Foreign Language Requirements in Colleges and Universities," *Foreign Language Annals*, II, No. 4 (1969), 436-455.

major state university, were examined in order to record the French grade, the GPA for the quarter and to determine the GPA without French. Then the percentage of students at Florida A&M University whose GPA remained the same without French, was lowered without French or was raised without French was determined. The same procedure was followed for the grades from the other university. Then a multiple analysis t-test was used to determine if there were significant differences between the group of French grades and the group of GPA's without French for both university groups studied.

V. Selection of the Subjects and Their Characteristics

While Florida A&M University is described as a university that offers programs catering to students with varying backgrounds, including students who have experienced educational and cultural disadvantages, the fifty-six students enrolled in French 103 whose grades were examined are considered as being average or above average in intelligence, as indicated by their overall GPA's, sophisticated and not necessarily culturally deprived. This is usually the case with students studying French. They are generally serious students, rarely seen loitering or wasting time on campus. The fifty-six students in this study represent twelve major areas in the College of Arts and Sciences and one major in the School of Agriculture and Home Economics.

All forty students from the other university were in the College of Arts and Sciences. Their transcripts did not indicate their major areas, therefore this information was not obtained. While the general admission requirements are the same at both universities, Florida A&M University has two regulations which allow the enrollment of low achievers who show potential of doing successful academic work.⁴

⁴The general admission requirement for freshmen at both universities states that graduates of accredited Florida secondary schools who have satisfactory academic and conduct records in high school (C average or better on academic subjects) and who stand in the upper 40% in the Florida Twelfth Grade Testing Program are academically eligible for admission. At Florida A&M University, a student from an accredited Florida secondary school who is otherwise eligible but whose score on the FSTGTP tests is below the top 40% but above the lowest 40% of the high school seniors may be admitted if it is determined from all appropriate evidence that he can be expected to do successful academic work in the institution to which he applies. A student from an accredited Florida secondary school who is otherwise eligible but whose FSTGTP test score is among those attained by the lowest 40% of the high school seniors shall not be admitted unless an appropriate faculty committee judges that he should have an opportunity to demonstrate ability to do successful work in the college classroom, *Florida A&M University Catalog 1972-73*, XXV, No. 2 (1972), 39.

VI. Results

A. FAMU Elementary French 103 N=56

percent

1. French grade same as GPA without French .07
2. French grade lower than GPA without French .75
3. French grade higher than GPA without French .18

B. Other University Elementary French 113 N=40

percent

1. French grade same as GPA without French .08
2. French grade lower than GPA without French .54
3. French grade higher than GPA without French .38

C. The tests of significance (see tables I and II) indicate that there is a significant difference between the French grade and the GPA without French for the Florida A&M University group (French < GPA without French) but no significant difference between the French grade and the GPA without French for the other university group (see tables III and IV).

D. The hypothesis in this study was not upheld.

VII. Observations

1. Twelve of the 16 Business majors at FAMU made "C" or above in French.
2. Thirteen of the 16 Psychology majors at FAMU made "D" or below in French.
3. The mean of the French grades at FAMU was 1.64.
4. The mean of the French grades at the other university was 2.87.
5. The mean of the French grades for the 22 males at FAMU was 1.59.

Gp 1—FAMU
Gp 2—Other University

COMPARISON OF GROUP ONE WITH GROUP TWO

TABLE V.

Group	Variable	Size	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Gp 1	1) French	56	1.6429	1.6883	1.2994
	2) GPA w/o Fr.		2.6436	.4428	.6654
Gp 2	1) French	40	2.8750	1.1378	1.0667
	2) GPA w/o Fr.		3.0230	.5348	.7313

TABLE VI.

Base Group	Variable	Compare to Base Group Variable		T-Value	DF	F-Ratio of Variances
Gp 1	1) French	Gp 2	1) French	-5.090	94 p<.001	1.484
Gp 1	2) GPA w/o Fr.	Gp 2	2) GPA w/o Fr.			
				-2.601	94 p<.01	1.208

6. The mean of the French grades for the 34 females at FAMU was 1.64.
7. For the FAMU group there were: 4 "A's", 14 "B's", 10 "C's", 14 "D's", and 14 "F's".
8. For the other university there were: 12 "A's", 18 "B's", 8 "C's", 1 "D" and 1 "F".
9. The average number of hours carried during the third quarter was 15 for both groups.
10. The average number of hours earned for the FAMU group was 99.

VIII. Implications

Perhaps the greatest implication in this study is that the grading practices for French 103 may have been widely divergent from grading practices generally accepted in other academic areas. Hence, students may feel that French, and perhaps other foreign languages may be unreasonably and even perversely difficult, thereby avoiding languages if at all possible. Certainly negative discrepancies between the student's French grade and the average of his other grades do nothing to aid declining enrollments. While this study is far too limited to make any real inferences, it does suggest that a re-examination of expected progress, teaching and testing procedures is in order and not necessarily a lowering of standards. This study could be broadened to include groups selected from the past as well as future groups studying French or the other modern foreign languages taught at Florida A&M University. It could likewise be done with such areas as Chemistry, Physics, or Mathematics which are typically perceived as difficult required courses in order to determine the effect of the grades on a student's GPA.

IX. Recommendations

According to Florence Steiner, in the *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*, Volume II, "not much attention has been paid to grading except that several writers have pointed out the negative influence of grades, among them, Pimsleur and Struth, Valette, Markle and Donald Stewart."⁵ This study has

⁵ Florence Steiner, "Behavioral Objectives and Evaluation," *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*, II, ed. Dale L. Lange (1970), 35-78.

indeed pointed out the negative influence of grades on the Florida A&M University group studied. While the present grading system prevails at this university and no changes are foreseen in the immediate future, here are some ideas that Foreign Language teachers might take into consideration if they feel that grading in their classes exerts a negative influence on a student's GPA.

1. In view of the fact that a student's GPA often determines whether he can remain in school, receive financial aid, is eligible for a scholarship, can be admitted to graduate school, etc., every effort should be made to prevent that student from making a grade that will penalize him or jeopardize his whole future or college career.
2. Students want quality points. Therefore the S-U option at FAMU offered no panacea for the language enrollment attrition based on a student's fear of failure. Students should be allowed to work at their own pace and receive credit for whatever they accomplish with sufficient accuracy. In other words, individualized instruction should be expanded and implemented.
3. In view of the "tremendous disadvantages in a system which carves up the notion of proficiency into as many as five letter grades, an alternative system of student evaluation which eliminates the possibility of failure"⁶ or the lowering of a student's GPA should be devised.

⁶John F. Brockman and Ronald Gougher, "Individualized Foreign Language Instruction: What Does It Mean?," *Foreign Language Annals*, IV, No. 4 (1969), 421-422.

The Question of Black English

by

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The question of black English is a many-faceted one, varying in range from an understanding of its origin and nature to whether it should be exterminated like the plague or cultivated and preserved in its pristine purity, to whether it provides advantages or handicaps to its users, to the question of, if it is a handicap what should be done about it, if anything; and finally, if something is to be done, who is to do it and how. Obviously, in the time allotted, I can examine these facets in a summary fashion only.

Many theories abound to explain the origin of black English. Scholars once thought it was either an ignorant misuse of standard English or a remnant of archaic British dialects learned by slaves from their Southern masters. Later, a number of linguists have come to believe that the dialect originated with the slaves themselves. That theory received its first book-length substantiation in *Black English* published by Random House in 1972. In it, Linguist J.L. Dillard of the University of Puerto Rico traces the fascinating development of the Black English used in the United States. Beginning with the early slave trade, where it acquired certain words of Portuguese (like pickaninny), it evolved into a *lingua franca*, with strong elements of African, through which a suppressed subculture, whose members came from different parts of Africa, could communicate. Along the way, it added bits of American Indian and pidgin Chinese as unassimilated minorities were thrown together. Slaves taught each other varieties of their masters' language. And as black children grew up, speaking not the African of their parents but black English, it became a living and sophisticated language. It is still the language spoken by a majority of black Americans.

Gordon C. Green, a former teacher at Dillard University in New Orleans, gives reasons for the perpetuation of black English which are comparable to those given for the preservation of other ethnic dialects. He says that this speech, which he calls substandard, has persisted for many generations in all segregated communities where the American colored population has been overwhelmingly in the majority: in the South and in the large

industrial cities of the North such as Harlem in New York and the Southside of Chicago. This special speech filled with colloquial expressions which have meaning only for the Negro, promotes the concept of the in-group and gives the colored man a sense of belonging, which he does not feel among whites.¹ One such example of the difference between black and white expressions was given by Dr. A.A. Abraham of the Test Service Bureau of Florida A&M University. He was commenting upon an article written by Kenneth R. Johnson in the July 23 issue of the *Tallahassee Democrat* where Johnson had quoted Marshall Howard, linguist from Wayne State University, who had indicated that meanings of words differ, too, for blacks. According to Howard, "The cat split the hammer" sounds a little puzzling to white ears. But a black youth would take it to mean some fellow left the presence of a rather unattractive woman. However Doctor Abraham had to test this item on a number of black students at FAMU before he found one or two able to give the desired response, and that came only after an arduous interpretative struggle. Perhaps the idea that words and expressions have different meanings for different ethnic groups, unless they are truly idiomatic, is a myth.

Green believes that black English (*BE*) will continue to be perpetuated because of local segregation laws and landlord and property-owner exclusion and even by the choice of Negroes themselves. For an individual born in such an environment, there is little possibility that he will be able to break the speech chain which goes all the way back to the first slaves who came to this country. His parents use the dialect; his playmates use the same sounds; so do his teachers whom he hears during the week, and his minister whom he listens to on Sunday. Even his Negro radio station often promotes the black dialect and is a force working against a change in language patterns.²

In spite of Green's observation, I must note an interesting phenomenon. I have taught students who were born and reared in the same rural communities and taught by the same teachers, but whose speech and writing differed from each other as much as night from day. I have also seen the same situation in families! One child uses standard English and the other exhibits many or most of the characteristics of *BE*.

¹ Gordon C. Green, "Negro Dialect, the Last Barrier to Integration," *The Journal of Negro Education*, XXI (Winter, 1962), p. 82.

² *Ibid.*

What, other than differences in meanings in expressions, are the characteristics of black English? Walt Wolfram gives a sample inventory of the prominent features of what he calls the lower-class black dialect and examines the changes that would have to be made in order to neutralize the grammatical differences between it and standard English. He lists them under three headings: Written Expression, Linguistic Feature, and Oral Expression. For written expression I shall use standard English and for oral expression I shall substitute the term *BE* because these are the forms which appear both in oral and written expression of the speakers of the *BE* dialect.

Written Expression or SE	Linguistic Feature	Oral Expression or BE
1. John's house	possession	John house
2. John runs	3rd person sg. pres.	John run
3. ten cents	plurality	ten cent
4. He jumped	past	He jump
5. She is a cook	copula	She a cook
6. He doesn't have any toys	negation	He ain't got no toys He don't have no toys
7. He asked if I came	past condi- tional ques- tion	He asked did I come
8. Every day when I come he isn't here	negative/be	Every day when I come he don't be here. ³

Juanita Williamson a linguist at LeMoyne-Owen College in Memphis, Tennessee, lists other problems:

1. The replacement of the phoneme / δ / in *this* and *that* with /d/ to become *dis* and *dat*.

³Walt Wolfram, "Sociolinguistic Alternatives to Teaching Reading to Nonstandard Speakers," *The Florida FL Reporter*, VIII (Spring/Fall, 1970), 16.

2. The already mentioned omission of *s* from 3rd person singular verb and the addition of the *s* to the first and second persons, singular and plural as *I walks, I goes, he do, he take, teacher tell, does we have, we is, you eats, they eats, they cries*.
3. The use of the past participle for the past tense forms as in *I drunk, she taken, he seen*.
4. The use of *done* as the auxiliary with the past participle: *I done done it, I done gone*.
5. *Have* frequently replaces *has*: *he have done it*.
6. *Ed* is added to a strong verb to form the past tense: *I dranked, Mary throwed*.
7. The verb *be* is used as a finite verb: *I be, he be, they be*.
8. The verb *be* is omitted in some sentences: *Where it at? Where you going?*
9. An *s* is added to forms already plural: *men > mens; children > childrens*.
10. Loss of final consonant in consonant clusters: *dentist > dentis; greatest > greatis*.
11. Loss of final /r/ — *door > /do/; four > /fo/*.
12. Medial /r/ is sometimes lost; *carried > /kaed/; tomorrow > /təma/*.
13. Other pronunciations frequently found are /sɛbən/ for *seven*; /hɛp/ for *help*; /aeks/ for *asks*.⁴

From my own observation, an idiom of Florida *BE* may be seen in expressions like *What time it is?* for *What time is it?* and *What he did* for *What did he do?*

⁴ Juanita Williamson, "Report on a Proposed Study of the Speech of Negro High School Students in Memphis," *Social Dialects and Language Learning*; A Report of a Conference Sponsored by Illinois Institute of Technology and the National Council of Teachers of English (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964), pp. 25-26.

With the evidence provided by our own ears and eyes and the reports of linguistic experts, we then acknowledge the existence of a dialect spoken by 80 per cent of the black population in the United States, many Puerto Ricans, many Seminole Indians and many whites. The question then arises as to what shall be done about it. Shall the speakers of *BE* continue to follow the linguistic patterns of their heritage or shall they be asked or forced to conform to a different standard? One way to answer the question is to ask: Does the use of *BE* help or handicap its user? For both questions, if so, in what ways?

A knowledge of *BE* only can be handicapping when the speaker is expected to operate in a system that demands the use of standard English. This handicap will not only create a problem in terms of oral communication in standard English settings, but the scope is even broader when one considers that the speaker's success in school programs may be hindered because interference from his linguistic system can cause difficulties in his learning to read and write standard English, the *lingua franca* of the public schools and certainly of the colleges and universities. A teacher who grades a student "A" who has expressed himself "eloquently" in *BE* either orally or in writing when the situation calls for *SE* has done that student a disservice because the student's eventual learning of *SE* has been postponed. He has been led to believe that he can enter the main stream of American life equipped only with his command of *BE*.

Before the 1960's *BE* had been stereotyped by the entertainment world through the old minstrel shows and such personalities as Step-an-fetch-it, Amos and Andy, and Rochester. Consequently, the dialect itself was considered a joke by most Americans and anyone using such a dialect was not easily taken seriously. Most of them expected to become neither bankers, stock brokers, optometrists, nor even head nurses or airline hostesses. When they applied for jobs, they did not ask for white collar jobs or even for those for which a letter of application was required. They meekly accepted those jobs for which their patterns of speech fitted them. However, during the time of what might be called "The Period of Revolt," *BE* along with the Afro hairdo became a badge of ethnic solidarity, an expression of "Soul." Now the speakers of *BE* demand jobs and positions of responsibility—front door jobs. Sometimes they receive jobs above menial levels because of laws that have been passed, but they have either learned the wisdom of securing coaches to teach them standard English so that they may advance in their positions, or they fail to advance. Some even lose their jobs or remain as figureheads with meaningless titles,

performing meaningless tasks which satisfy the law but keep them from doing any real harm in the educational, business or governmental establishments where they hold such positions. Even for lesser positions, language plays an important role. I might ask *you*: How many of you would hire the user of *BE* to be your secretary, your graduate assistant, the teacher of your children, or even your baby sitter if your child is likely to have long periods of contact with that speaker of *BE*? The realities must be faced. The fact is that standard English is "front door" English. And American schools should be committed to the task of making it possible for every citizen to enter by the front door if he wishes to do so. Virginia Allen of Temple University makes a statement as to why the standard dialect ought to be learned. She says: "A student needs to understand that a command of standard English is vital to any American (particularly any 'minority group' American) who aims to associate with speakers of the standard dialect on anything like a social footing."⁵ Note the phrase "a command of standard English." To command something is not to have a vague notion of it, but rather to be able to *summon it up at will*. The student must be given the ability to summon up the standard dialect whenever he himself wants to use it, in any situation where fluency in that dialect would be to his advantage. Of course, there are other reasons for teaching standard English—reasons more palatable to those who dislike treating language as a status symbol. Quite apart from the fact that nonstandard English makes a poor impression, there is the obvious fact that the standard dialect is the medium for imparting information and ideas in print and on the air.

It is argued that speakers of *BE* may be bidialectal, i.e., they may use the dialect everywhere except when they are performing their jobs or engaging in social contact with speakers of standard English. This argument seems valid in theory, but it has been proved over and over again that practice makes perfect, and if *BE* is practiced more regularly than standard English, standard English *can not be summoned up at command*. Seldom too, is it possible for a speaker of *BE* to become bidialectal unless standard English was the first language he learned.

However, since Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" publicized the belief that a Cockney could be trained to speak as the upper classes do so that social and economic barriers will disappear, and

⁵ Virginia Allen, "Teaching English as a Second Dialect," *The Florida FL Reporter*, VII (1969), 124.

the Cockney will be accepted as a member of British Society, teachers in this country are becoming aware of their responsibility to help the speaker of *BE* to use the standard dialect with ease and self-confidence when the occasion demands. If the student is led to believe that his own natural speech is shameful and that learning the standard dialect has many practical advantages, many will eventually stop using non-standard varieties of English altogether. But even if a student continues to use the home dialect with his family and peer group associates, the teacher need not feel that the program has failed. The test of success is the student's readiness to "turn on" the standard dialect in situations where his standing as a person will be judged in part by his speech.

Just what must be done by anyone who tries to become fluent in standard English when his home dialect is something else? The problem for teachers is to develop a repertoire of routine habits in connection with the forms and arrangement that make up the grammar of the standard dialect. Many of the foreign language teachers' procedures will suggest useful strategy to teachers of English as a second dialect.

The first element in the foreign language teachers' strategy is selection. The teacher tries to select the smallest possible number of really essential items to be learned. The students concentrate on these, item by item, until they are able to "produce" each essential type of utterance without hesitation. Once the student has been given a substantial start, he is able to fill in the remaining gaps on his own through observation and analogy. This suggests that teachers need to concentrate their energies on features that truly distinguish standard English from nonstandard usage. In essence, then, the strategy of teaching a second dialect amounts to teaching the smallest possible number of vitally significant items—and teaching them *hard*.

What does a teacher do about a language pattern when she really wants students to learn it? Above all, she gets the students to *use* it: to say sentences that have meaning and interest for the speaker and listeners illustrating the pattern again and again, until that mode of speech begins to sound natural to the students themselves. It is called pattern practice or substitution practice.

Virginia Allen calls attention to other helps: Marjorie Barrow's *Good English Through Practice*, 1956, which shows how to use a set of cleverly devised games for getting junior high school students to use many troublesome standard English forms over and over again while taking part in entertaining creative language

activities. A second helpful text is Ruth Golden's *Improving Patterns of Language Usage* (1960), in which the problems and attitudes of students learning the standard dialect are analyzed and many language-learning activities are suggested, including games, stories and role-playing skits. A third, and particularly fruitful source of help for teachers is San-su C. Lin's report (1965) on a three-year research financed by the U.S. Office of Education, in which Doctor Lin and her associates experimented with pattern practice techniques as a means of helping students at Claflin College in South Carolina. The Claflin experiment was so fruitful that Doctor Lin felt that in addition to the hot spots of protest in 1967 in Chicago, Newark, Detroit and Roxbury, there had also been a demonstration in her classroom. There had been no bricks and Molotov cocktails, but there had been freedom to speak, to listen, and to learn.⁶

So, then, it has been suggested here that though the speaker of *BE* feels that on certain occasions and with certain people, he may wish to retain his home language, he should also be made aware that if he wishes to attain social status and economic security in America today, he must have a command of the standard English which is spoken by educated speakers; and with that kind of motivation on the part of the speaker and commitment by the teacher to the idea that the speaker of *BE* is a human being who needs the same tools of communication which any other human being needs to live at a level above that of mere subsistence and the willingness to develop teaching strategies and techniques to implement her commitment, the question of what to do about *BE* will be answered.

⁶ *Ibid.*

*A COUNTER-STRATEGY TO GLOBAL EXPLOITATION**Radical Social Transformation*

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Radical social transformation takes many forms. The contemporary focus is on the more dramatic—the general strike in France of May 1968, the October revolution of 1917, black ghetto warfare, student movements, and technological and biological breakthroughs leading to a new type man and society. There are also those transformations, occurring unseen or fragmentarily, which have affected the entire historical epochs in which they gradually passed. On a vast scale, the passing of feudalism into capitalism serves as an example of technological, cultural and economic forces shaping the social structure. On a more restricted scale, the break-up of colonial empires and rise of independent states through national liberation movements signifies one part of another shift in who has power. With the fall of colonialism, another form, more disguised, has taken its place. As Nkrumah stresses, “neo-colonialism” takes many forms and is worse than its predecessor. As Britain, France, Holland and Italy gave up territories and trade rights due to their own encouragement of self-determination or economic disadvantages, the U.S. and its allies slipped in to take up vacancies. In this light, radical social transformation will signify that change from the economic *status quo* the U.S. now holds due largely from its global encroachments. This entails the following drastic changes in the imperialist stage of world economy:

1. A sharp increase in national liberation movements in the Third World.
2. A reluctance on the part of imperialist powers for a repetition of Viet Nam-type situations.
3. Territorial unions of underdeveloped countries.
4. Restrictions by these unions of countries on exportation of vital raw materials to industrial capitalist countries.
5. Nationalization of existing foreign industrial plants.

In turn, these steps in a political strategy will have an effect on the economic structure of the home market.

- a. A drastic shift in the exportation of capital to the Third World for the benefit of the home country.
- b. A dissolution or re-grouping of monopoly combines of an international scale from the Western dominated alliance and common markets to "mixed forms."
- c. With exportation of capital curtailed and the reserve army of peasant workers "unionized," as it were, contradictions in the capitalist system, hitherto smoothed out by Keynesian manipulations, become more dramatic.
- d. The concentration of production and capital in the form of corporate agglomerates are forced to take new forms for its own survival. The radical social transformation will thus occur when the very system which uses the Third World for its raw materials, markets and labor is forced to bargain with, not expropriate, this "world proletariat."

"Corporatism"

Underlying the above assumptions is the belief that the power in this country, rests with the men and/or institutions who control the productions of goods, the flow of capital, the security of markets and materials, and the means of protecting these interests by direct or indirect coercion. A new group of men will not necessarily affect this assumption. John Kenneth Galbraith's contention in *The New Industrial State* that the control of corporatism rests with the technostructure rather than entrepreneurs or managers does not alter my point. Even if it is the case that a great amount of power rests with organized intelligence rather than capital, even if one can speak of ours as a "planned economy" in which the state wields its influence to set prices, introduce funds of capital, beef up defense appropriations, control tariffs, etc., Galbraith has not shown that these new men of the 'new industrial state' renounced the classic motive for engaging in capitalism, M-C-M as Marx expressed it, i.e., a profit. Although he argues that the goal of the technostructure is not profit but the corporation's success as an organization, he ignores the fact that corporate growth must be accomplished with the necessary additive of a growth of capital. Instead, Galbraith foresees a society where technological change is accorded the highest social value. Once a "secure level of earnings" and a "maximum rate of growth consistent with the provision of revenues for the requisite investment" are established as the basic goals, technological virtuosity, corporate image, community relations and philanthropy are sought by the corporation.

Galbraith reveals the fact that in our society we regard it as a natural fact that the abundance of goods is a measure of human achievement and adds that this need not have been so. If we would only rechannel the huge sums in military spending to more humanitarian ends, alter the educational system to instill liberal virtues in the rising white-collar class, fight unemployment by increasing production of necessary goods, retrain blue-collar workers for the technocracy and spice it all up with cultural training to our functional illiterates, Galbraith sees a new type of state emerging. This state would not harbor class distinctions according to haves and have-nots, rather there would be the educated and dwindling population of uneducated. With educated economists in the service of government planners, wage-price spirals are regulated and together the "scientific and educational estate" provides the political initiative for reforms. In short, Galbraith's view sees a merging of the industrial system and the state into one unit. In this respect he offers the suggestion that there are and will be many lines of convergence between Soviet and non-Soviet industry in terms of planning, controls of wages and prices, and education.

But Galbraith's analysis of the corporation to come ignores several underlying forces: (1) the corporation's dependence on profit from somewhere; (2) the role of economic supply and market countries outside of the U.S. or other industrial states; (3) the possibility of a drastic shift in global political equilibrium.

The Legalization of Exploitation

The Third World, as a collective body of underdeveloped countries, is poor, weak and fragmented. As industrial capitalism plans for a world economy, this fact is used in calculating capitalists' growth and security. In most cases this is not done out of callousness, but the inability to see any rapid transformation of underdeveloped countries to the take-off stage of occupying a visible portion of the world market is evident. Richard Bailey, former Director of Political and Economic Planning (a research institute) and Special Advisor to the National Economic Development Council of Britain, in his book *Problems of the World Economy*, sees the main problems in supplying the dwindling supplies of vital raw materials, fuels, agriculture, curbing the birth rate and establishing new patterns for industrial expansion in the West. As a means to further the solution to these problems he sees great hope in the expansion of international organizations such as the GATT, the World Bank, and regional grouping such as the EEC and its alliance with eighteen African nations. One chapter is devoted to the developing countries, singling out their high

birthrates, low level of technical education and shortage of capital. Bailey's advice is that working harmoniously with the West all three problems will gradually be solved. Most importantly, the inputs of capital so necessary to their development entails an increasing supply of foreign exchange. However, the sources of this capital from overseas aid, private investment, or export earnings have been insufficient for the purchasing of necessary imports. Bailey's solution is to expand existing systems of commodity agreements outside the limits imposed by Commonwealth and GATT restrictions, and to arrange for compensatory finances in the case of a country dependent upon one or two commodities (like cocoa or coffee) which would suffer greatly even from a minor market fluctuation. Even with help in these areas the relative smallness of national markets makes for higher industrial costs which necessitate highly protective tariffs and industrialization in many underdeveloped countries has been carried on to ban or restrict imports, rather than as the result of a sound economic program. In Bailey's view, if the Third World would only act in the best interests of world economy they would come out ahead themselves. With trade arrangements, increased aid, and technical training, the abject poverty of the Third World could be averted. In all of the above, the underlying assumption again is that Western capitalism is here to stay and that its survival takes precedence over the growth of industrialization of the countries of the bulk of the world's population. In effect, Bailey urges what one might call an agreement for "the legalization of exploitation," through aid policies and trade arrangements.

The Bilateral "Pillage"

Bilateral exploitation is a means of expropriating surplus value from the labor, markets and materials of a people with their (tacit) consent. Rather than crude, essentially overt and nationalistic efforts behind colonialism, neo-colonialism is more subtle and harmful. Political decisions are in the hands of leaders with a direct vested interest in the foreign investor's economic interests. Peoples of newly "liberated" countries are in the process of establishing modes of democratic expression and reform. In the meantime, control over trade policies, aid, export quotas, etc., are left up to those at the top of the floundering capitalist heap in the independent nation. Tariff agreements thus take the form of the legalization of colonialism. Independent countries are still suppliers of raw materials and dumping grounds of the manufactured goods of foreign industrialists. As Nkrumah points out, political action is necessary to oust colonial exploiters, but political and economic action is necessary to prevent an imbalance within the newly independent state. For Nkrumah, the way to prevent

inequities within the country is to achieve a working socialism; the way to achieve a bargaining position vis-a-vis industrial capitalism is to form unions of working socialist states.

In terms of creating in a short period of time a working egalitarian economic system, a socialist model seems more probable than to ape foreign capitalists; as Jalee puts it:

- a. The average growth of the socialist countries is about 57 percent higher than that of the advanced capitalist countries.
- b. The average growth of the advanced capitalist countries is more than twice that of the countries of the Third World.

It appears, therefore, that despite any errors or inadequacies, the socialist system has proved its clear superiority over the capitalist system in the matter of economic growth.¹

But economic growth does not occur inevitably, even with the establishment of something approaching a socialist order. Exploitation does not cease automatically when the liberated nation organizes its economy along socialist lines. The underdeveloped nation still is in a position to have its raw materials extracted and its market flooded with products, both to the detriment of that country's economy. While aid and investment are largely determined by the strategic importance and size of markets for imports, poor countries possess the means for a strategy to shake the existing world economy.

Imperialism exploits the subterranean wealth of the countries which it dominates because its industries require these materials but, for this very reason, the Third World has an ace up its sleeve: its hand is on the tap controlling an essential flow, and thus it enjoys a position of strength in one respect which must not be underestimated in a dynamic and changing world.²

One way of substantiating Jalee's claim is to itemize the metalliferous minerals contributed by the Third World compared to the world's total tonnage. The Third World supplies roughly half (2,200,000 out of 4,220,000 tons) of the non-socialist bloc's copper ore and half the manganese ore (as much as the USSR).

¹ Pierre Jalee, *The Pillage of the Third World*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Three African countries produced 10,770 tons of cobalt out of 14,900 tons total in 1964. Also, the Third World countries supply one-quarter of all non-socialist zinc ore, one-third of the lead ore, and South Africa alone produces seven-tenths of all gold, seventy percent of all diamonds and natural phosphates. Similarly, the Third World produces 930,000 tons out of 1,260,000 total of concentrate, and 17 million tons out of a 27 million ton total of antimony ore.

million ton total of antimony ore.

In indices of production in the extractive industries from 1948 to 1965, taking 1958 as base year, the index rose from 77 in 1948 to 119 in 1965 for the industrialized countries and 45 to 197 in countries the U.N. labels "less industrialized." Jalee continues that the Third World has caught up with imperialist countries in oil production, producing 700 million tons out of the world total of 1,410 million while the imperialist countries extracted 450 million tons, of which 377 million were from the U.S. In iron the Third World has only 25% of the world production, yet Jalee concludes, due to changed contributions of oil, natural gas and metalliferous ores in the period 1958-65:

The production of the Third World rose by 97% . . . While that of the imperialist countries rose by only 19%. On this basis one can calculate that in 1965 the Third World provided 37.5% of the production of the extractive industries of the non-socialist world and the imperialist countries 62.5%.³

Jalee's statistics (based on data gathered by the U.N.) offered him conclusions far different from Bailey's urgings for more regional groupings and aid programs. Jalee's positive theses can be summed up, echoing Nkrumah:

- (1) An economic policy of "united fronts" rather than engulfment into common markets by making the most of holding sources of indispensable raw material.
- (2) It is in the long-range objective interests of the Third World countries to establish socialist structures in order to indicate exploitation at home as well as to attempt to deal with foreign exploitation.
- (3) Any analysis of present-day capitalism must not be restricted to the features it exhibits in highly industrialized countries. On a world-wide scale the pillage of Third World countries is accomplished alongside reforms for the working class of the metropolitan countries.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Jalee's insight here is not original; it is the problem of how the capitalist system realizes surplus value in a rapidly "closing" system, i.e., where does a demand for accumulated surplus value exist when accumulation in the home country finds it more difficult to reinvest? To the counteracting forces to the tendency to underconsumption within the home country such as new industries, faulty investment, population growth, unproductive consumption due to a new service class and state expenditures, Rosa Luxemburg offers an early version of the necessity for the capitalist "pillaging":

Imperialism emerges as a striving on the part of all capitalist nations to get control over as much as possible of the still-remaining non-capitalist world, and high protective tariffs appear as the means by which each seeks to bar the other from access to its own internal non-capitalist market.⁴

That this is not the only means to reap surplus value as capitalism becomes overripe, is, as Sweezy points out, true. Yet this point does not seem an integral factor in the speculators of the future of corporatism such as Galbraith, Drucker, Hacker and Heilbroner. Pillage is spoken in terms of export quotas and trade agreements; exploitation is softened by offers of aid for public works and technical training to man foreign industries.

The Inherent Contradictions of Capitalism

One wonders if Marx's views as to the inherent contradictions within the capitalist structure are invalidated or reinforced by the previous considerations. As Sweezy puts it:

If the drift to economic stagnation can be successfully countered, then why must we assume that unemployment, insecurity, sharper class and international conflicts are in prospect for capitalism? Why not, on the contrary, a "managed" capitalist society, maintaining economic prosperity through government action and perhaps ever gradually evolving into a full-fledged socialist order?⁵

Of course, this point is in both Bailey's and Galbraith's analyses. But what of the developments within capitalism due to monopolies, centralization of capital, development of a "paper economy" by the inroads of a credit system and joined with the spread and strengthening of capitalism from its ability to capitalize on the reserve army of cheap labor in underdeveloped countries,

⁴Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956, p. 25.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 236.

their high rate of profit, and the gains to be reaped by capital export?

The general effect of capital export is to retard the ripening of the contradictions of the accumulation process in the capital exporting countries and to hasten their appearance in the capital importing countries. In short there is a tendency for the rate of development of capital in the various parts of the world economy to be evened out by capital movements.⁶

Yet even this stabilization of capital flows, by the use of non-capitalist countries as safety valves for the dumping of manufactured goods and establishment of bases of new industry, has its adverse effects in the long-run.

While it is true that monopolies within a country restrict the field for capitalist accumulation, they also heighten the interest of the monopolist in expanding his export market. The capitalist searches for territory, new markets, cheap labor, raw material, and branch factories. But monopoly capital on an international scale necessitates trade alliances among competing monopolists. Yet the cartel on an international scale (such as EEC) is never a means of canceling the underlying conflict of interests between monopolies of various nations. The international character of capital merely serves as the means whereby individual nations can avoid useless losses by *temporarily* stabilizing the existing economic status quo.

Hence, despite the push for "common markets" among major capitalist countries and regional groupings aligning sectors of the Third World with certain capitalist spheres of influence, the form of the international cartel, like its national counterpart, a planned economy à la Keynes, is a relatively short-ranged attempt to protect overripe industrial countries from the pressures in either a falling rate of profit or underconsumption. Thus the essential need for secure areas in which to export capital.

Security of these areas comes largely from threats to remove aid or curtail purchases of stable foodstuffs or raw materials and, not the least used, force of arms. It is not that a country like the U.S. would stand to lose much if, e.g., Upper Volta decided to shut us out; rather, we practice a policy of "protective annexation" because the loss or gain involved compared to the situation which would have prevailed had a rival succeeded in stepping in ahead is important to our economic equilibrium.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

If it is naive to think of the Third World as forming a united front against its exploiters, it is also naive to see the entire group of capitalist exploiters working as a team rather than each, under the cover of trade agreements and groupings, working for their own best interests to the detriment of international economy as a whole.

The Need For A Counter-Strategy

Taken out of the standard Marxist frame-work, a present-day study of capital needs to critique the *global process* of *exploitation* and the means of this exploitation which hasten the weaknesses inherent in the capitalist system. Rather than elevating the backward nations by mass influxes of capital, the reverse seems to be the long-range process: capital export leads to one-sided industrial development largely in the form of public works, utilities and rails which are designed to exploit further the natural resources or labor of the poor country. None of these help a poor country to achieve a level of industrialization in which it is possible to compete with commodity exports from the industrially advanced country. And with the push to develop the areas of extractive industries the eradication of traditional handicrafts causes a relative few to work for foreign investors while the bulk of the poor country's populace is forced to remain in the agricultural sector or is lured to the big industrial enclaves only to remain on the fringes as indigents or domestics. Nothing short of major land reforms and the socialization of industry is able to combat this process.

Yet capitalism, even while indulging in exploitation of labor, raw materials and markets, gives to the exploited class of underdeveloped countries (and its own) the means and methods for achieving their own liberation. With foreign influence often come the educational reforms, increase in literacy, trade in armaments, and open acts of racism and oppression. Independence movements threaten industrial capitalist exploitation in some of its most valuable fields of exploitation and the latter often find the only way to preserve the colonialist stance is through the continual increases of its varied instruments of coercion. Capital export, seemingly solely an economic boon, makes for an imperialist policy. Liberation movements follow almost as a corollary. The crux of radical social transformation of the U.S. (as well as other advanced capitalist countries) hangs in the balance of those forces which will be utilized by Third World countries to affect the sources of overseas expansion of surplus value, namely: (a) the huge reserve army of labor; (b) foreign enclaves of giant corporate branches; (c) trade arrangements between regional groupings

which predominately favor the capitalist sector; and (d) seemingly inexhaustible resources vital for capitalist growth in highly technological areas such as communications, space, and defense industries.

Beyond the economic range, however, the realm of political speculation lies open to question. Here the necessity to secure markets and resources at almost any price is tempered by the rise of liberated nations and their struggle to oust foreign capitalists. While there may be a reluctance in the future to engage in Viet Nam-scaled protectionist strategies, the recent move by the Rockefeller recommendations to beef up Latin American military dictatorships shows that the dream of Nkrumah and Jalee is far from taking place as long as the rulers of underdeveloped countries themselves fortify the exploitative machinery.

If Jalee's and Nkrumah's hopes are realized, a new form of corporatism in the U.S. would seem to be a necessity. This new form would be more of a radical or a gradual socialization of some key industries. "Planning" would have to go beyond the Galbraithian limits if there were large setbacks to imperialists' free enterprise. Is it too much in the realm of speculation to see the U.S. trading on a competitive basis with not only the Third World alliances but with the Communist bloc countries? There is already some degree of foreshadowing of this likelihood in the trade arrangements between Canada and various communist countries and the success of a few of the underdeveloped countries such as North Korea and North View Nam to achieve a rapid formation of socialist systems geared for internal development.

That this process is not inevitable nor likely in the next five decades is admitted. It is not, however, a figment of imagination for a handful of Utopian thinkers. And if, over the last half of this century, these forces do tend to coalesce, the basic political and economic structure of U.S. corporatism and imperialism will be greatly altered. The radical nature of the social transformation will be seen here in the motives for corporate survival and stability in something other than growth and accumulation of excess surplus value. The cultural and educational ramifications that Galbraith sees imminent might *then* have an economic base. Perhaps something of this sort can be evidenced in England's fall from empire to second-rate European power. The decay of imperialism and the rise of a plurality of viable socialist or semi-socialist economic structures would signify the next historical epoch. Exactly how fast this disintegration will take place depends primarily on the speed and force of exploited people to work in

their long-range objective interests. It is absurd to think that corporate capitalism will help them.

*Utilization of a Pre- and Post-Course Test
To Effect A Separation of Two Student Populations*

by

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This study, using actual data from classroom examination at FAMU, indicates that there is an objective means to separate students into two groups: those who want to learn, and those who do not or cannot. This suggests a means to improve learning conditions for those who want to learn by separating (or eliminating) the group that merely takes up space.

The mechanism used is completely discussed later, but the data were obtained from administering a special 34-question, computer-scored, objective test to students at the beginning of a Basic Studies Physical Science course at FAMU and re-administering the same 34 questions nested in the 98-question final. The 34 questions ranged over the whole material expected to be in the course. The same 132 students were tested both times. The computer was programmed to score only the 34 special questions nested in the final 98 questions so that before and after scores would be available for the identical material and students.

History

At Florida A&M University, during the winter quarter 1970-71, the use of an IBM 1130 computer was introduced for automatic scoring of multiple-choice tests administered to students in the Basic Studies-Physical Science 100 course. Some 300 students in five sections were given common exams and cards on which to mark their responses to the questions having multiple-choice answers.

Automatic mark-sense equipment converted the marks into the punched-hole format necessary for the input to the 1130 computer. Originally, the only keypunch data required to be entered were the social security numbers of the students. The batch of cards was then sorted in ascending order of social security numbers, and sectioned according to the indicated sections for each student. This ordered array was then used as input to a special computer program (developed originally at Northeastern

University) which scores each student against a master answer card, and makes further statistical analysis for reporting purposes.

The output of this computer program is in three parts.

Part one (shown in fig. 1) is a listing in whatever order the input cards were arranged of an identification number (S.S. No.) of the student together with the score showing number right, number wrong, percent score, and the identity of each missed question. The student's name never is shown.

Part two (shown in fig. 2) lists the question numbers in an ascending numerical order (omitting any questions that were specified to be omitted) together with the correct answer and the number of responses for each choice including omissions. It also computes two indices: a difficulty index (really an "easiness" factor, being 100 if all students answered correctly) and a discrimination index. The latter relates the ratio of the differences of the number of students in the lower half of the class and the upper half who missed the question to one-half the class size. That is, if the students who missed the question are separated into two groups, those with scores larger than the median and those with scores smaller than the median, and the difference of the number is found for these two groups, a negative number would indicate that more students in the upper half of the class had difficulty with the question compared to the students in the lower half of the class. To get a number between + 1 and - 1 for the index, the difference is divided by one-half the class size. Hence this index would help sift out ambiguous questions that the good students had trouble with.

The responses are further tabulated in a ratio format. And a mean score is printed together with a standard deviation.

Part three (shown in fig. 3) of the output lists the frequency of occurrence of each score, shows computed percentiles and cumulative frequencies as well. Alongside are printed X's to show graphically in a histogram the grade distributions.

This analysis program has proved to be very useful in that pure objectivity is obtained easily and quickly with data that indicate success and failure for the teaching program in the Basic Studies-Physical Science 100 as well as data separated into sections for comparison and for improvement indicators.

FIGURE 2. Analysis of Pre-Test Questions Included in Physical Sciences 100 Final Exam Section B.
The Total Number of Questions is 34.

Question No.	Correct Answer	Responses					Discrim Indx	Proportions						
		A	B	C	D	E		Omit	Difficulty	A	B	C	D	E
1	A	15	0	0	0	3		.833	.11	.83	.00	.00	.00	.16
2	E	1	0	0	0	17		.944	.22	.05	.00	.00	.00	.94
3	E	2	0	0	0	16		.888	.00	.11	.00	.00	.00	.88
4	A	10	0	0	0	7	1	.555	.22	.55	.00	.00	.00	.38
5	A	5	0	0	0	13	0	.277	.55	.27	.00	.00	.00	.72
6	A	15	0	0	0	3	0	.833	.11	.83	.00	.00	.00	.16
7	A	15	0	0	0	3	0	.833	.33	.83	.00	.00	.00	.16
8	A	16	0	0	0	2	0	.888	.22	.88	.00	.00	.00	.11
10	D	5	1	4	4	4	0	.222	.88	.27	.05	.22	.22	.22
11	A	7	0	3	5	3	0	.388	.77	.38	.00	.16	.27	.16
12	B	0	14	0	0	4	0	.777	.22	.00	.77	.00	.00	.22
13	C	0	5	8	0	5	0	.444	.88	.00	.27	.44	.00	.27
14	E	2	2	4	3	6	1	.333	.66	.11	.11	.22	.16	.33
18	A	11	1	0	2	4	0	.611	.11	.61	.05	.00	.11	.22
19	D	0	4	3	5	5	1	.277	.55	.00	.22	.16	.27	.27

20	D	1	0	6	9	1	1	.500	.77	.05	.00	.33	.50	.05
21	C	2	7	5	3	1	0	.277	.0	.11	.38	.27	.16	.05
22	B	3	11	1	0	1	2	.611	.55	.16	.61	.05	.00	.05
23	E	4	3	1	2	7	1	.388	.33	.22	.16	.05	.11	.38
24	A	4	8	1	1	4	0	.222	.88	.22	.44	.05	.05	.22
25	B	0	17	1	0	0	0	.944	.11	.00	.94	.05	.00	.00
26	A	13	1	2	0	2	0	.722	.55	.72	.05	.11	.00	.11
27	C	0	0	13	0	5	0	.722	.11	.00	.00	.72	.00	.27
28	C	3	0	14	0	0	1	.777	.44	.16	.00	.77	.00	.00
29	C	2	2	10	1	3	0	.555	.44	.11	.11	.55	.05	.16
30	C	4	1	8	1	4	0	.444	.22	.22	.05	.44	.05	.22
31	E	0	1	2	5	10	0	.555	.44	.00	.05	.11	.27	.55
43	B	0	14	1	1	2	0	.777	.22	.00	.77	.05	.05	.11
44	A	10	2	0	1	5	0	.555	.22	.55	.11	.00	.05	.27
45	B	3	9	0	1	4	1	.500	.55	.16	.50	.00	.05	.22
46	C	2	2	9	3	2	0	.500	.77	.11	.50	.50	.16	.11
47	A	10	2	3	0	3	0	.555	.22	.55	.11	.16	.00	.16
48	B	0	1	5	8	4	0	.055	.55	.00	.05	.27	.44	.22
49	E	0	1	9	2	6	0	.333	.44	.00	.05	.50	.11	.33

Mean = 55.6, SD = 13.4

FIGURE 3. Analysis of Pre-Test Questions Included in Physical Sciences 100 Final Exam Section B. The Total Number of Questions is 34.

<i>Score</i>	<i>Percentile</i>	<i>Cumulative Frequency</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Each X = 1 Percent</i>
35	2	1	1	XXXXX
36	2	1	0	
37	2	1	0	
38	2	1	0	
39	2	1	0	
40	2	1	0	
41	13	3	2	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
42	13	3	0	
43	13	3	0	
44	25	5	2	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
45	25	5	0	
46	25	5	0	
47	30	6	1	XXXXX
48	30	6	0	
49	30	6	0	
50	41	8	2	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
51	41	8	0	
52	52	10	2	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
53	52	10	0	
54	52	10	0	
55	58	11	1	XXXXX
56	58	11	0	
57	58	11	0	
58	58	11	0	
59	58	11	0	
60	58	11	0	
61	63	12	1	XXXXX
62	63	12	0	
63	63	12	0	
64	63	12	0	
65	63	12	0	
66	63	12	0	
67	80	15	3	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
68	80	15	0	
69	80	15	0	
70	86	16	1	XXXXX
71	86	16	0	
72	86	16	0	
73	91	17	1	XXXXX
74	91	17	0	
75	91	17	0	
76	91	17	0	
77	91	17	0	
78	91	17	0	
79	91	17	0	
80	91	17	0	

81	91	17	0	
82	91	17	0	
83	91	17	0	
84	91	17	0	
85	97	18	1	XXXXX

The computer program now accepts a maximum of 100 questions with 12 of these questions required to have a yes-no or true-false response; the remaining 88 questions can have up to 5 choices. Up to 1500 students can be processed for a simultaneous examination of 100 questions.

Additionally, the mark-sense card has been redesigned to correspond to the modified program so that responses to all 100 questions are on *one* card (using both sides!) and the social security number and section number are also included for automatic mark-sense equipment utilization. (See copy of both sides of new card in fig. 4.) Thus all data from the student are under his control dependent on his marking only—only machines handle the data—and no human keypunching is required.

Such a card and special program will enable instructors to utilize these services for testing—and frequently, for all the classes if so desired. The more testing with feedback of data on each question for each student enables a better learning program to be established that is quantified and operationally meaningful.

Special Test Program

The use of the computerized scoring for simultaneously administered tests in the Basic Studies-Physical Science 100 course in the winter quarter 1970-71 proved valuable for statistical purposes; and especially valuable to weed out unsuitable questions. The final examination of the winter term was a considerable improvement.

It was then proposed that a portion of this examination be used for a pre-course test for the spring term students and re-administered as a post-course test to the *same* students in order to evaluate the status of the group at the beginning and at the end of the course. This obviously would provide some measure of the effectiveness of the particular plan of learning experiences which had been tried for that quarter.

Thirty-four questions which would run the full range of ideas and subject-matter anticipated for the spring quarter were selected from the final examination of the prior quarter.

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LEWIS 9088 F-O

SIDE ONE

1	A	B	C	D	E	28	A	B	C	D	E
2	A	B	C	D	E	29	A	B	C	D	E
3	A	B	C	D	E	30	A	B	C	D	E
4	A	B	C	D	E	31	A	B	C	D	E
5	A	B	C	D	E	32	A	B	C	D	E
6	A	B	C	D	E	33	A	B	C	D	E
7	A	B	C	D	E	34	A	B	C	D	E
8	A	B	C	D	E	35	A	B	C	D	E
9	A	B	C	D	E	36	A	B	C	D	E
10	A	B	C	D	E	37	A	B	C	D	E
11	A	B	C	D	E	38	A	B	C	D	E
12	A	B	C	D	E	39	A	B	C	D	E
13	A	B	C	D	E	40	A	B	C	D	E
14	A	B	C	D	E	41	A	B	C	D	E
15	A	B	C	D	E	42	A	B	C	D	E
16	A	B	C	D	E	43	A	B	C	D	E
17	A	B	C	D	E	44	A	B	C	D	E
18	A	B	C	D	E	45	A	B	C	D	E
19	A	B	C	D	E	46	A	B	C	D	E
20	A	B	C	D	E	47	A	B	C	D	E
21	A	B	C	D	E	48	A	B	C	D	E
22	A	B	C	D	E	49	A	B	C	D	E
23	A	B	C	D	E	50	A	B	C	D	E
24	A	B	C	D	E	51	A	B	C	D	E
25	A	B	C	D	E	52	A	B	C	D	E
26	A	B	C	D	E	53	A	B	C	D	E
27	A	B	C	D	E	54	A	B	C	D	E

T 55 F

T 56 F

T 57 F

T 58 F

T 59 F

T 60 F

T 61 F

T 62 F

T 63 F

T 64 F

T 65 F

T 66 F

AG-EC

ASS

EDUC

FR

SOPH

SCHOOL / COLLEGE

CLASSIFICATION

NURSE

PHARM

TIC

JR

SR

BASIC STUDIES - FLA. A & M UNIV.

FIGURE 4. Mark-sense card

[illegible]

On 31 March 1971, the second class meeting, this special test was administered to all sections with 148 completing the test on that day. Some 200 were finally enrolled by the end of late registration.

One hundred seventy-nine students took the final examination which had the same 34 questions of the pre-test nested in the 98-question final. One hundred thirty-two of the 179 had the pre-test on 31 March, which was a loss of 16 from the original 148. (See tables I, II.)

TABLE I. Physical Science 100 — Spring 1970-71. 179 Students in Final Examination of 98 Multiple Choice Questions

<i>Section</i>	<i>Mean Score %</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>Range Max/Min</i>	<i>No. in Test</i>
ALL	58.0	13.5	94/24	179
A	62.3	12.9	94/25	55
B	58.8	13.5	84/34	35
C	54.7	13.4	76/24	53
D	52.3	11.6	73/36	16
E	58.3	14.0	79/31	20

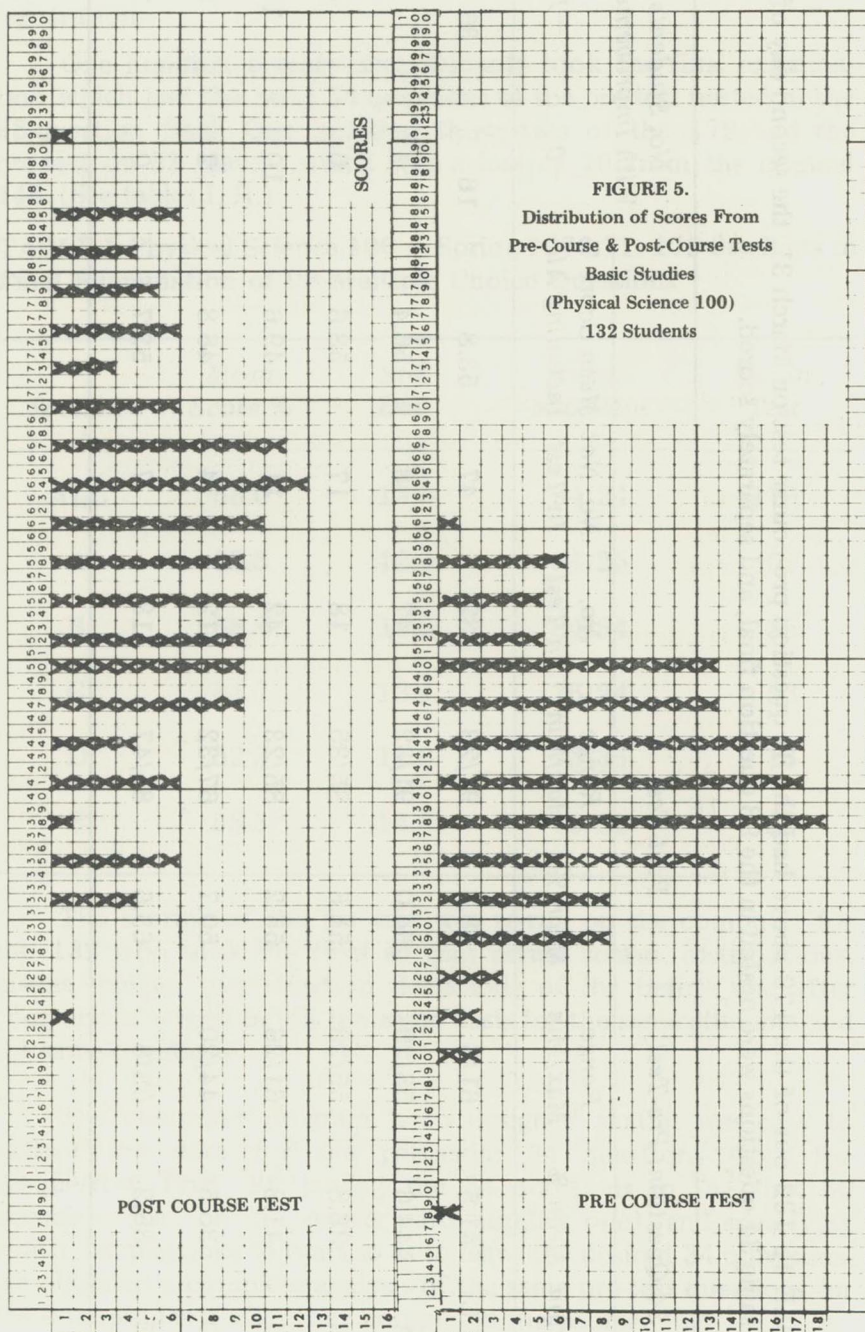
The scoring of the pre-test was re-run on the computer for the 132 who took the final so that actual scores, distributions, means, ranges, and standard deviations of the before and after comparison would be on the same basis for the same students and the same questions.

The computer program is so designed that it was easy to extract the data for the particular 34 questions from the 98-question final. By having the 34 questions in the first 50 questions (i.e., on the answer card number one), and specifying which 16 questions to omit so as to leave the desired 34 questions, we obtained a complete analysis of the same pre-test questions for the same students after they completed the course.

The before and after results and other data are shown in tables I and II. Figure 5 shows histograms of the distribution of

TABLE II. 132 out of the 179 above had the 34 question pre-course test on March 31, the second day of class. The same 34 questions were nested in the 98 question final, and separately scored.

34 Question: Pre-Test			Post-Test		No. Students With Improvement		
Section	Mean %	Range Max/Min	Mean %	Range Max/Min	No. In Test	No. Not In Test	Mean Score % Including All
ALL	41.5	61/8	58.8	91/23	132	47	53.8
A	44.6	58/29	64.0	91/32	47	8	56.4
B	38.8	55/23	55.6	85/35	18	17	58.6
C	41.8	61/26	55.2	85/23	42	11	49.6
D	35.5	44/20	50.7	67/32	12	4	48.8
E	36.2	58/8	63.6	85/47	13	7	53.7
					—0	—10	
					16	36	
					4	7	
					0	8	
					10	17	
					2	3	
					0	1	



scores for the pre-course and post-course test. The mean score has risen from 41.5% to 58.8% which appears an inadequate improvement in light of the odd distribution.

Figures 6 and 7 show extracted data which are a consequence of study of patterns revealed when individual sections are compared. Table II, in the next-to-last column shows the number of students who did not improve their scores after exposure to the course. The last column shows the number who did not improve at least 10 percentage points. This last group of 36 was identified score by score and separated from the aggregate. Note that the distribution and mean score of this little improvement group (fig. 6) are essentially the same before and after the course.

These students are separated by the envelope line in figure 5 which clearly shows how this non-performing group has distorted a more normal distribution and has "dragged down" the mean score. Figure 7 shows the data for the 96 students who constitute a more nearly representative group that has shown reasonably expected improvement, i.e. from 41.3% to 64.5%.

Table III shows the comparison for the 96 students who seem to comprise a more normal learning distribution and improvement.

Figure 8 shows a breakdown by sections together with some significant data about improvements for individuals. The lines show the 16 students with the minimum (or even negative) improvement. The dotted lines show the student in each section who made the largest increase in score.

Ten of the 16 students actually decreased their scores with the original top score going from 61% to 50%. These indications were cause for further study. One aspect was revealed when indirect complaints showed that there was a serious language barrier for clear understanding in section C. Serious as this may be, the mean score for the residual group (i.e. those remaining after the 16 non-performing students were removed) is almost exactly the average for the aggregate residual group. Thus there is reduced significance in this analysis from this factor.

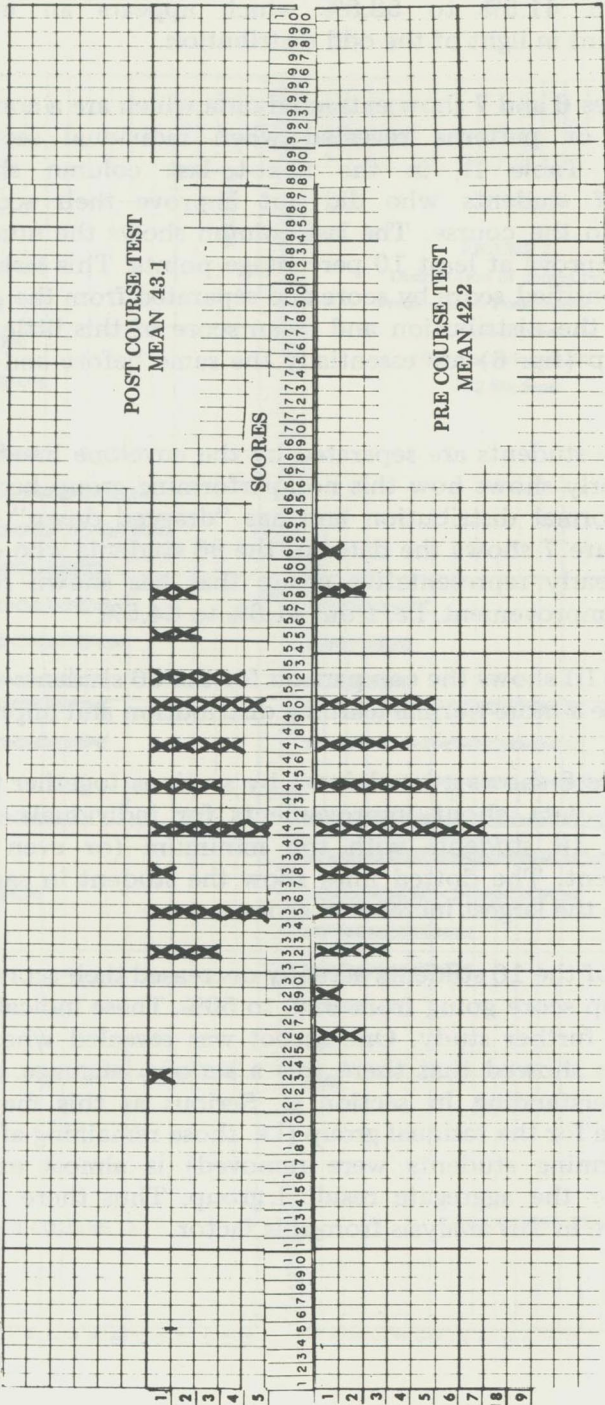
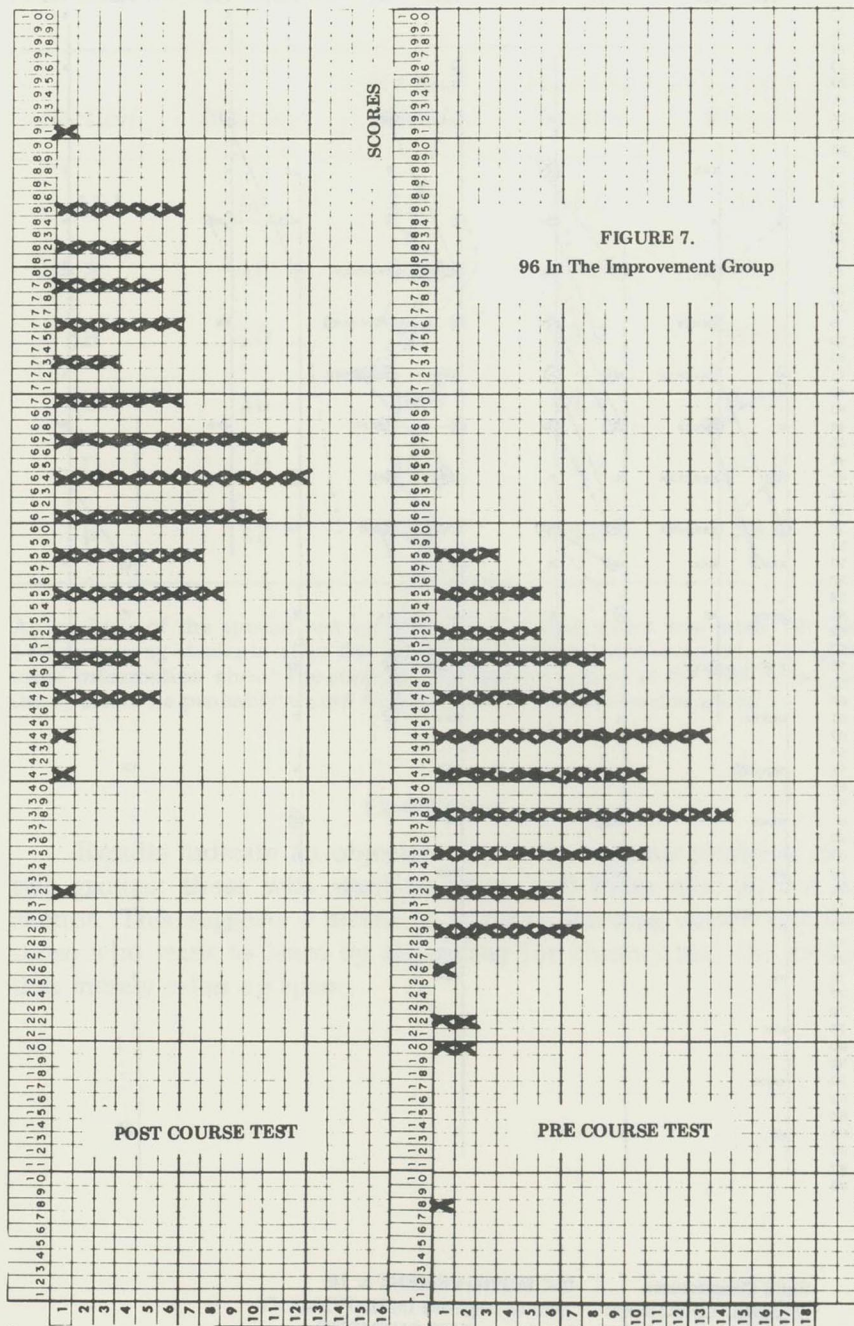


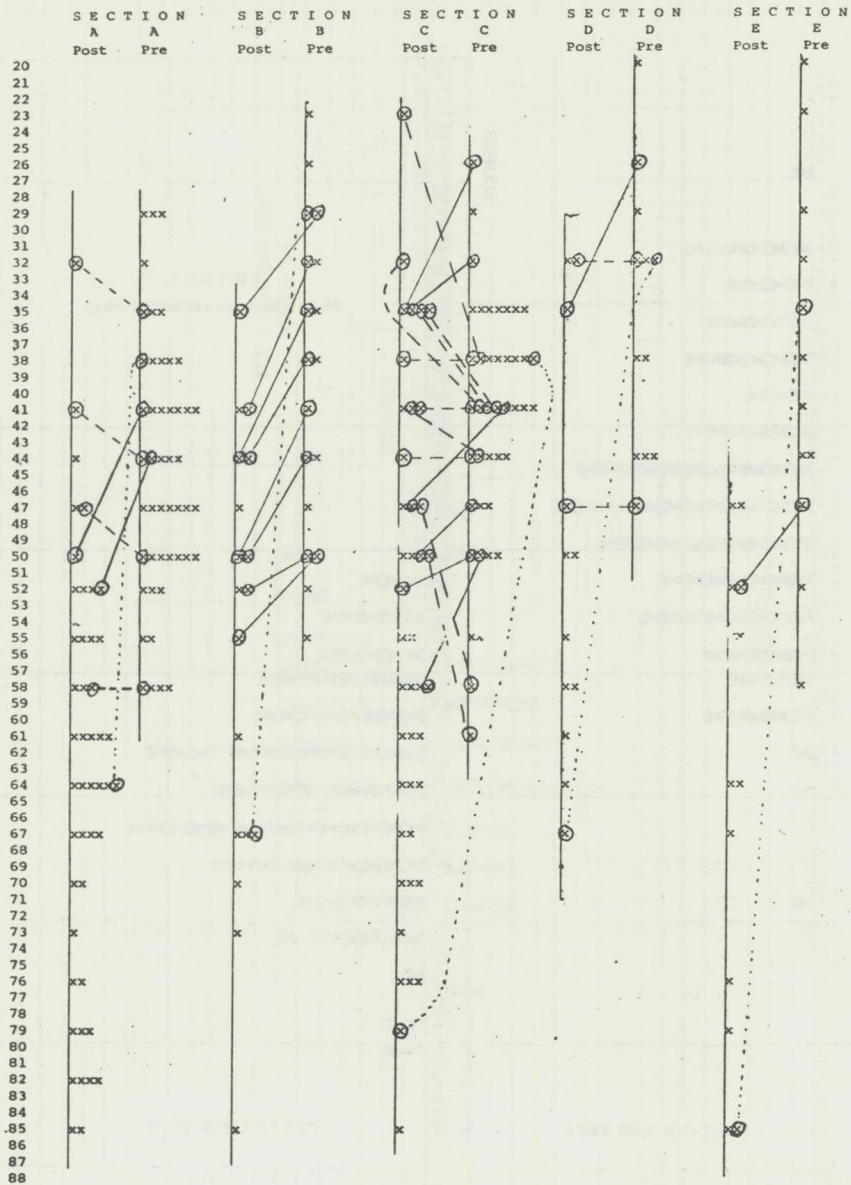
FIGURE 6.
36 Students Who Did Not Improve At Least 10 Points



BASIC STUDIES PHYSICAL SCIENCE 100 (SPRING QTR 70/71)

RWL/JUNE '71

HISTOGRAM DISTRIBUTION FOR SAME QUESTIONS IN PRE-COURSE TEST AND POST-COURSE TEST



Solid Connectors:

 $0 < \text{IMPROVEMENT} \leq 10$

DASHED Connectors:

Zero or Negative IMPROVEMENT

DOTTED Connectors:

Maximum IMPROVEMENT

FIGURE 8.

TABLE III. Physical Science 100. Spring 1970-71. Comparison of performance of the 96 remaining students (after removal of the 36 non-performers) with the final scores of the whole class of 143 (the same 36 not included).

<i>Section</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Pre-test % score</i>	<i>Post-test % score</i>	<i>Total class 143 (less 36)</i>
ALL	96	41.3	64.5	56.3
A	40	44.4	66.8	57.6
B	10	37.7	63.0	62.2
C	25	39.5	64.6	53.5
D	9	35.7	54.9	51.3
E	12	35.3	64.6	53.8

An analysis of the special test questions in the final exam was made for the 143 remaining students after the 36 non-performers were removed. This gave some information about the student who did not appear at the first classes of the courses. He probably would have joined the non-performer group.

Conclusion

Results indicate an objective means to separate students into two groups: those who want to learn, and those who do not or cannot. This suggests a means to improve learning conditions for those who want to learn by separating (or eliminating) the group that merely takes up space.

